1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

dog is mentioned by Mr. Hodgson only, who describes it as a rare animal of a pale wolf-like colour. /36

The hare, called *Ri-bong*, is abundant amongst the rocks on the grassy plains of Rukchu. It is called Ri-bong, or the "hill-ass," on account of the length of its ears.* The Botis do not eat hares, as they consider the animal as a species of donkey. In 1846 I shot five in half an hour in one of the glens to the eastward of the plain of Kyung. They sit behind the rocks, with their long ears pricked, and half their heads just raised above the stone. When roused they run from rock to rock, reminding one of the words of the Psalmist, "The rocks are a refuge for the conies." The Ri-bong is as large as an English hare, has longer ears, and is of a bluish-grey or slate-colour. It is the *Lepus pallipes* or "white-foot" of Mr. Hodgson, who gives the following dimensions of his specimen.† [262]

	Ft.	In.
Length from head to tail	0	11
„ of tail	0	4
„ of head	0	4½
„ of ear	0	4½

Mr. Hodgson describes a second species of Tibetan hare under the name of *Lepus oïostolus*, and he refers to Moorcroft as his principal authority for this variety.‡ But on a reference to Moorcroft (I. 225), I find that the hares shot by Trebeck and himself on the plain of Rukchu, were of a "bluish-white colour, and not much larger than English rabbits." Both in 1846 and in 1847 I shot these bluish-coloured hares on the plains of

* Ri-bong, and also Phyi-pa. *Ri-bong* means the "hill-ass." The Hindus also liken the ass to a hare, by naming the wild ass *Ghor-khar*, or the "horse-hare."

† Journal As. Soc. Bengal, XI. p. 288.

‡ Ditto ditto, XI. p. 288.

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within the last few years been introduced from Kashmir. 231

Ponies.—The ponies, according to Moorcroft,* who was a good judge, are "small, active, and hardy, but not numerous nor much used." At least one-half of the ponies used in Ladák are brought from Yarkand; but they are all geldings. The asses are small, and only equal to half-pony loads.†

Oxen.—The oxen are the *Yák*, or Chaori-tailed bull, and the yák cow, *Brimo* or *Dimo*, and their hybrid produce with the common cattle.

The *Yák* ‡ is short, but broadly and strongly built, with a small head, short horns, and a wild-looking eye. His long black hair reaches close to the ground before it is cut, and he has usually a shaggy and savage appearance. The *Yák* is used chiefly for carrying loads, as he is generally too intractable for the plough. The cow is kept only for milk.

The most valuable hybrids are the *Dso* bull and the *Dso-mo* cow, which are the produce of the male yák and the common cow. The *Dso* is used, throughout Ladák, for the plough as well as for carrying loads, as he is much more tractable than the yák and quite as strong. The *Dso-mo* yields much more milk than the yák cow, and of a much richer quality. The milk is used chiefly [263] for butter, of which almost every Ladáki consumes a certain quantity daily in his tea, in the same way as milk is used in England. The *Dso* is a very handsome

* Travels, I. p. 309.

† Ponies of all sizes are called *Tá* (in Tibetan *rTa*). Asses are called *Bong*.

‡ The Yák (in Tibetan *gYag*) is the *Bos grunniens*, or grunting ox. The bull is called *Pho-gYag*, or *Pho-yak*; and the cow *hBri-mo*. See Plate XLII.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

301 classes of women wear, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they have also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with
293 turquoises. Both men and women wear in their waist-cloths or girdles a *Chakmak* (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men, besides, usually carry a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carry a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and a case of coarse needles attached to their girdles; to these may be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which are stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.

V.—FOOD.

●262 The food of the common people usually consists of
565 thick barley cakes, or of barley-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which are added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat is seldom tasted by the poorer classes excepting upon occasions of
272 rejoicing, at a birth or marriage. Tea is now, I believe,
565 coming into common use, although I never myself saw any of the labourers drinking it. Amongst the upper classes tea is drunk two or three times a day. It is made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquires the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate.
264 Wheaten cakes are eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal is

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

264 565 repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that may be in season,—apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually have rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for since the occupation of the country by the Hindu Dogras, Yak's flesh is no longer to be had in Northern Ladák. Even in the British district of Spiti, the Yak is now a sacred animal, as our Government have made over the district to the Hindu raja of Bisahar.

262 784

273 All classes are exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, although they have nothing better than their own indigenous *Chang*. This is made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and has a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, and a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This is the usual beverage; but it is sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit is obtained, something like whiskey, but of a most villanous flavour.

VI.—SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

595 565 The most remarkable social institution of the Botis is the system of polyandry, which is strictly confined to brothers. Each family of brothers has only one wife in common. The most usual number of husbands is two, but three and even four husbands are not uncommon. This system prevails of course only among the poorer classes, for the rich, as in all eastern countries, generally have two or three wives, according to their circumstances. Polyandry is the principal check to the increase of population, and however revolting it may be to our feelings, it was a most politic measure for a poor country which does not produce sufficient food for its inhabitants.

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
426
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

[12]

414 BOLT--sHing kutik (lit. wood lock) Iron bolts are unknown to Ladákis.

291 BOOT--kapSHa the ordinary general term for a boot or shoe. The
195 respectful term is zhapSHa. There are separate names for different kinds of boots thus: "boot" means an English pattern boot "paboo" is the loose felt ankle boot of Ladák. "peypak" is the long felt jack boot of Yarkhand; "kapSHa" is the ordinary shoe of Hindustan; "móza" is the long leather jack boot of Yarkhand; "soklam" is the cloth jack boot of Lhása and China, it is worn by lamas. "cháruk" these much prized boots come from Yarkhand, they are made of sheepskin or lambskin, the wool being left on, and worn inside. They are sometimes short, and sometimes come up to the knee.

554 [13] BOW TO--go kuk ches (to bow the head) joo cho ches (the
576 ordinary bow of salutation) sa kaney joo cho ches (the respectful bow of an inferior to a superior made by lowering one hand to the ground and then bringing it up to the forehead, which is lowered).
chhakphul táng ches (to join the palms of the hands before the breast as in an attitude of prayer, and to bow with the utmost humility, as in the presence of a king or deity).

● 262 BREAD--tagee is the ordinary term for the chupati of the country, or any other kind of baked or roasted bread, chhooSHul is the term applied to the uncooked dough Ladakis eat, when on a journey, or whenever they can not cook their food. It is made by mixing water into "satoo" which is the flour of beardless barley.

264 BREAKFAST--chheenan, (the small early breakfast, taken at dawn); tsáma or tsálma (the ordinary breakfast, taken about 8 or 10 o'clock).

291 BREECHES--patloon (of European pattern) Ladákis of both sexes invariably wear these under garments made of coarse patoo. The men's breeches are called "SHághos" meaning "flesh cover" or "kánghnam" meaning "leg patoo" they are cut the length of the wearer's leg and are loose from the

583 Makpa is the term for the bridegroom selected by a woman. In this case the man belongs to the woman, not the woman to the man. If a man has a daughter and no son, and if he is also in a position to provide for her for her life, he arranges for a "makpa" for her; and in this way, he is able to select a man to marry his daughter and to come and live with him, thereby killing two birds with one stone, for not only does he thus avoid having to part with his daughter, who is practically his servant, but he gets an able-bodied man to come and join her, also as his servant. The brothers of a "makpa" can not share the makpa's wife. There is no loss of dignity involved in accepting the position of a makpa bridegroom. Under certain circumstances a woman may have a second husband, but see under "Husband".

595
554

601 BROTHER--ácho (eldest) parma (middle) and no (young). Spoonla is the general term for full-blood brothers. The words "ácho" and "no" are used just as the Hindustanis use the word "bhai." If the speaker is the elder, he says "no" but if the person spoken to is the elder, the word "ácho" is used.

779 [15]BUDDHA--sangeys or SHakskia thuba. Each "kapla" or period (at the end of each of which the world, for its wickedness, is destroyed by fire) has its own Buddha. The name of the Buddha of the coming period is maitreya.

BUDDHIST--bót or sangeyspa or bótPa. The word "nángpa" or "insider" is used by bots when speaking of themselves as distinguished from Christians and Mahomedans, etc., who are termed "pheepa" or "outsider."

764 BURIAL--The Buddhists of Ladák burn their dead. The Mahomedans use the Arabic word "dafan" but see "Funeral."

262 BUTTER--mar khagla or khagla mar (butter, or fresh butter) mar is a general term for butter, oil, and ghee. Europeans and their servants generally use the word "mar" to mean "fresh butter" but they are understood to mean the butter-like ghee, which is imported from Baltistan.

439

776 god, and so on with the Gods of water (chhoo), wood (SHing),
779 fields (zhing), store houses (páng), wealth (nor), etc. Beys hla is the God watching over one when travelling in foreign parts, khar i hla is the patron god of a castle or palace, and zhis hla and khim hla and hláloo are the Ladáki household gods.

GODDESS--hlámo. There are very few goddesses, the chief are "yum" the mother of all Buddhas, and dorjey phakmo.

293 GOGGLES--migSHel any kind of glass spectacles, migra a kind of eye-preserver, made by Ladákis out of horse hair, twisted into a kind of fine net work and shaped like goggles.

291 [54]GOWN--The ordinary dress of a Ladák woman consists of a patoo gown called "mo-GHos," in which the skirt and body are in one piece. A girdle or "skieyraks" is worn round the waist. On fair days and other great occasions they wear a petticoat, a
[439] skirt striped with red, green and yellow. These are called "stakta" and cost about 20 rupees each, as they come from Lhása. A cheaper kind of holiday skirt called "thigma" is made of pattoo with flowers stamped in colours upon it.

343 GRANARY--giábang large, pánga a store room for grain, such as every cultivator keeps in his house.

764 GRAVE--romkhang Buddhist funeral pyre, kabar Muhammadan grave. The Christian burial ground at Leh is called "rom khang" but a grave (without a monument) is called thurthrot and "pangso" is the earth mound over a grave. Khakchan or nantan, important. Also tsher-rdong chhak ches, to look grave.

231 GREYHOUND--lingskhee. The word means "sporting dog," but it is applied more particularly to greyhounds, these [55] being the only kind of sporting dog known to Ladákis.

243 GRIM--nas or ngomdok, beardless barley or "grim". This is the
262 grain most in demand in Ladák. From it is made "satoo," which forms the food of the people, and "chhang," which is the national drink. It ripens at greater altitudes than other grains, (i.e., close up to 15,000 feet above the sea), it ripens more quickly, and it requires less manure.

563 583 851 114 dissolved, and in such cases, the children have all the ordinary advantages of a home, and grow up very decent members of society. The same remark applies to ArGHóns of other than the first generation. In other words, if ArGHóns are scoundrels, it is owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they grew up, and not to any inherent defect in the breed.

A good ArGHón is the best man in Ladák; he has more intelligence, more courage, and more enterprise than the Ladak Buddhist, and so far as I know he is not a whit less trustworthy.

181 105 [4r3] The ordinary Ladák Buddhists are as nice a race as one could find anywhere, they are a cheery, simple, honest, easy going people, but they must ever remain a subject race, for they are not clever, and they are cowardly and unambitious. They all have land, and their one desire is to be left in peace to live on the land. They have no desire to be rich, and so long as they have enough to live upon, they strongly object to earning money by the sweat of their brow. They do a little trade with the Tibetans of Lhása territory, but they have no commercial instincts or aptitude. The ArGHóns on the other hand, as a rule, have no land, and they therefore have to keep their wits about them to earn their bread. They are far better traders than the Buddhists, they are quite ready to work for money, and they generally speak two languages viz., Tibetan and Turki or Tibetan and Kashmiri.

[434] 563 4r3 443

In physique they are certainly equal to the Buddhists, and in personal appearance, more particularly the women, they are far superior to them.

137 114 762 [58] HARE--reeong or reebong. Ladákis consider that hares are of the same "genus" as asses. Cunningham (p. 203) says that Tibetans do not eat hares, in Ladák this is not so.

562 563 HAREM--ãney (or bómo) duksa khângpa. The Ladáki women are not confined in harems, nor do they wear veils when in the streets. The ArGHons (see "Half caste") are beginning to think it a mark of respectability to shut up their women.

241 HARROW--sarhniom (the Indian harrow, merely a log of wood, which when drawn by oxen over the fields, breaks up the clods and covers the newly sown seed with earth. It is not used in Ladák), vat (the Ladák hand harrow, like a rake, only with a smooth surface instead of teeth).

000 HAUNTED--drey-zhukskhan or gongpó-zhukskhan. The former

585 can do so, but the fact of its not being given, does not invalidate the marriage. It is considered the correct thing to give a marriage feast, for the giving of it gratifies the vanity of the person concerned, and what is far more important, if no feast is given, the bridegroom gets no "raktak" with his bride. In most oriental countries it is customary to marry a girl, at latest, so soon as she reaches the age of puberty, but in Ladák a bride is generally as much as 16 years old before she is married. Should it turn out, as not infrequently happens, that the bride is not a virgin, the bridegroom does not take it amiss, not on philosophic grounds, but because he really deems it a matter of no importance.

595 585 Younger brothers of the bridegroom take no part in the marriage ceremony, though after the whole of the ceremonies are over, they become by right co-husbands, whether the lady likes it or not, and whether the elder brother likes it or not.

583 585 The ceremonies observed at makpa weddings are similar to those of the pakston wedding, with this difference that instead of the bride being taken away to the bridegroom's house and becoming his property, the bridegroom remains at the bride's house, and becomes her property.

583 MARRY TO--pakston cho ches, to marry in the ordinary way. Pakston tang ches, to give in marriage. Makpa khiong ches to take a "makpa" husband, and makpa chha (or khier) ches, to be taken in marriage as a "makpa" husband (for "makpa" see "Husband)."

231 [439] MASTIFF--zang-khee or cháng-khee. The zang khee is the real Tibetan mastiff, the cháng-khee is the Chángthang half-bred looking mastiff. The pure mastiffs are procurable only in Lhása; they are very handsome, but costly to purchase, and quite useless, as they very seldom become properly domesticated. They won't follow well, and they can't march or stand the slightest heat.

[100]

311 MEADOW--ól-tháng (a field of lucerne grass). There are no grass fields in Ladák, though turf is found near the edge of a stream.

264 ●262 MEAL--pakphey (atta), záches (food). The following are the meals eaten by a Ladáki during the day, viz., (1) chheenan taken at dawn, and consisting of satoo; with tea or milk; (2) tsáma or tsálma taken about 10 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea, (3) pharma taken at noon, and consisting of satoo and tea, with

meat if possible; (4) zára or dzára taken about 2 o'clock, and consisting of satoo and tea or milk, (5) GHonzan taken at evening time, consisting of satoo, tea or milk, with meat and vegetables if possible. 264 262

The poor people eat only chheenan zára and GHonzan.

MEASURE--tap-ches (a foot rule or other measure). 804

An account of the lineal measures in use in Ladák has already been given under the heading "Lineal Measure." For ordinary dry goods, the Indian system of weighing by seers and maunds is used, and sometimes the Kashmiri weights, called "Kacha" weights, are used, thus the following table may be drawn up:--

1 Chittak	(Indian)	=	2 ounces.
1 Seer	(Kashmiri)	=	12 2/3 ounces.
1 Seer	(Indian)	=	2 pounds.
1 Batti	(Kashmiri)	=	4 "
1 Maund	(Kashmiri)	=	32 "
1 "	(Indian)	=	80 "

The lower classes are not generally familiar with the "Chittak," they guess at any weight less than a seer. [565]

Salt and rice and all other grains not grown in Ladák, are weighed by the above measures, but for grains grown in Ladák, the following is the system of measurement. The units of measurement are the khal, the bo or bho, and the trey or brey, or (in composition) drey.

In ordinary use there are three kinds of each of the above measures, viz., the sär-khal, the yool-khal and the phokskhal the sär-bo the yool-bo and the phoks-bo also the sär-drey, the yool-drey, and the phoks-drey. Consequently if a man speaks of any of these three measures, he must be asked which of them it is to which he refers.

There are also two other measures, the one called "pundrey" and the other "ongsdrey."

The "pundrey" is the measure used in monasteries for measuring grain paid back, as interest, on grain borrowed from the monastery. I am told it is a rather large "brey" measure.

The "ongsdrey" is used only at harvest time, for measuring, or dividing, the cleaned grain crop. I am told it is only an ordinary "brey" measure heaped up. Neither of these are of any consequence as they are not in general use, but the followi g

262 SAUSAGE--tshilkham or náng. A Tibetan sausage is made of mutton or goats' flesh and highly flavoured.

331 SCAFFOLDING-- Wood is too valuable in Ladák to admit of ordinary scaffolding being used during the building of a house, etc., and the builders seem to get on very well, though using only rough ladders (SHaska) and high trestles (SHingtee).

871 777 [142]SCHOOL--hloptá-kháng. With the exception of the Moravian Mission School at Leh, there is no regular school of any kind in Ladák.

792 794 788 [144]SERMON--The Buddhist priests do not preach sermons, they confine themselves to reading the scriptures. To read the scriptures aloud to a congregation is called "máney skul ches," and the reader, who need not necessarily be a Lámà, is called "Màneypa." The reader intones, and as he comes to the end of each sentence, he pauses, and the congregation slowly chants the mystic syllables "aum ma nee pat mey hung," pronounced om máni-padme hum. The congregation cannot understand the language of the scriptures, and does not care to do so, as Ladákis consider that it is the duty of the priests to look after such matters for them.

291 195 SHAWL--tsádir or tsazar or respectfully namtsar (a shawl); staktra (the small square shawl worn by Ladák women, either as an apron or hanging under one [145] arm; it is generally made of a check pattern, either in wool or cotton).

231 SHEEP--luk (general); roobo (entire); luk (castrated); lugmo or móluk (ewe); lugoo (lamb); phólaks or thongpa (a fine fat castrated sheep ready for killing); chángluk (the large load-carrying sheep of Chángtháng).

439 435 [146]SILVER INGOT--These come only from China. Some are imported to Léh viá Lhása, but most of them come via Yár-khand. The Tibetan word for an ingot is rdótsat or starmikma, but the Turki words "koorus" or "koors" and "yámboo" are also used. The ordinary koors is worth from ₹ 165 to ₹ 170. There are also smaller ingots, called "yámikma" (value ₹32) and "lugmikma" (value ₹16).

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others.

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

Battle Against Sinister Powers.

326 On one of the next days the village smith came to the court-
yard in order to put the hoes and the plow in order for the cultivation
[262] of the fields. At the midday meal he also received his ample share
of butter tea and of baba, a thick, boiled flour porridge which is eaten
[783 with melted butter. But the smith had to eat apart from the row of
776] inhabitants of the house; for if he had seated himself with them close
to the stove in the livingroom-kitchen, the house god (p'a-lha) and
the hearth god (t'ab-lha) would have become angered and would have
789 sent disease and misfortune to the inhabitants in their house. While
326 the people were still slurping their butter tea, the young mother entered
with little Drogpa Namgyal in her arms. "še-pa, še-pa! Da rgod-
cig! Darling, darling! Smile for us!" she was saying to him. Then
old Tsering Putrid called out to her daughter-in-law: "Put the child
on the lap of the Garra (smith) and let it drink from his kore (drinking
bowl); then it will become a real Garprug (smith's son); if then a Tsan
or Lu should come, it will notice by the smell that the child has been
with the Garra and it will take it for a real child of a smith and keep
away from it, because even a demon may not touch a dirty Garra.
It will be better to bear a little disgrace than to know it in constant
danger of the evil /20/ powers. After all, you never can tell-- --!"
The sage advice of the grandma was carried out in spite of all the
yelling and kicking of the little one, who did not want to get near
the black man with the sooty face on any account. But all felt some-
thing like relief when the Garra with a sour-sweet smile took the child
for a few moments in his arms and let it sip from his tea. His effort
was thereupon rewarded by a few more bowls of the best fat butter tea
and a whole pile of flat bread cakes, as well as by a number of small
silver coins. For this he also took the insulting aspects of the matter
into the bargain.

852 When little Drogpa Namgyal was a year old, a lama related to
the family appeared in the house one day, solemnly sat down on the
carpet, unwrapped a book from the folds of the cloth of his wide scarf
and began to read aloud. While he was reading and consuming, in
between, ample amounts of the butter tea that was served him, the
mother, with the help and advice of the mother-in-law, energetically
rubbed butter on the little round head, which already had quite a
dense crop of black hair, till it gleamed like a rind of bacon. Then
the mother had to sit down with the little one close to the lama; the

241 by the women, and the harvesting work was done by men and women
462 together. Lobsang Wanggyal, the still energetic father, still conducted the management of the farm, powerfully supported by Namgyal. A day laborer who lived in the house helped with the field work. The tending of the cattle was divided among the various members of the family. The woman is assigned the task of preparing the meals and the drinks (butter tea and chang), as well as that of taking care of the children.
294 Since neither Namgyal nor his father had learned the art of sewing, as some of their neighbors had done, a tailor was from time to time called into the house who, according to an old established tradition, sewed the clothes for all members of the family; the tailor also made the shoes of colored cloth, which he soled with scantily tanned leather.
282 The men spun, with the large hand spindle, threads of coarse goat's
283 or yak's hair, from which a weaver then wove very strong blankets, carpets, and sackcloth in narrow strips. The women spun the finer threads of sheep's wool with the small hand spindle; they did this with great /121/ skill and never used a spinning wheel. From these threads the weaver wove a rough, firm cloth which was used for clothes.

262 As a rule three meals interrupt the daily round of work. After
264 they have already worked from two to three hours, they sit down to breakfast (t'sal-ma) in the house or on the field. The breakfast consists of roasted barley flour (rtsam-pa, ham-p'e). Everyone of the eaters takes a little flour with his fingers out of the vessel turned out of wood which stands in the middle. This flour he mixes with butter tea or with beer in his little wooden drinking bowl, which he constantly carries around with him in the wide front of his coat. In case he has no butter tea or beer he may use water; he then kneads the flour into a stiff dough and shapes mouthfuls from it, which he then proceeds to throw into his mouth with great adroitness. An early first breakfast is called chinnan (mčin-nan), that is, "pushing the liver down." The
[82] feeling of hunger which sets in in the early morning hours together with a feeling of emptiness in the stomach, is explained by the Tibetan as a "rising of the liver." The breakfast pushes the liver down again to its proper position. The midday meal (dza-ra) is consumed in the first hours of the afternoon. It is usually little different from breakfast. In the hours of the evening, earlier or later depending upon the work at hand, everybody gathers for the evening meal (dgoń-zan), usually inside the house. Depending upon the wealth of the household it consists of bread (ta-gir), flat, round cakes of wheat flour baked hastily without leavening at the open fire. In poorer households they

again have flour porridge on this occasion. Affluent families can afford a meal of rice with meat and vegetables (mostly vegetables growing wild or white beets), with a spiced sauce (curry), or noodles (rgya-t'ug, that is, "Chinese soup"); or drim-t'ug, a soup with little rolls of dough, often also with meat and vegetables; dumpling soup and many other kinds of soup. A kind of dumplings made of spiced minced meat in a covering of dough (mog-mog) are also very popular. As beverage they have beer or butter tea, but rarely, and only among the rich, is there home-brewed rice brandy. 262 264

Sometimes another intermediate meal, bar-ma (meaning, "the middle one"), is inserted between the breakfast and the midday meal, if circumstances seem to require it. Poor people confine themselves frequently to two, yes, even to just one very scanty meal per day.

/122/ Building a House.

After the third child had come into the world with the birth of their little son, Namgyal, who had now taken over the management of the farm, decided to build a new house onto the old house, since the space had gradually become too cramped for the growing family. The old grandmother Tsering Putrid who with advancing age became increasingly strict in the observation of all formalities, was the first to insist that in this enterprise the old astrologist and devil-tamer Dorje Dud-joms should be consulted, as well as the father. Above all the right moment to begin the building of the house had to be determined. 342

After long calculations and counting on his fingers and with little stones, the advice finally came from the soothsayer: The building is to be started after the working of the fields on the third day of the fifth month, a Thursday (Jupiter's day). The second, eighth, fourteenth, twentieth, and twenty-sixth of this month are evil days, the third is good unless a particularly evil omen, such as the arrival of an evil spirit at the place or something of that nature, should appear. The "day of the planet sun" (Sunday) and the day of the "red," wrathful Mars (Tuesday) are both "angry days" and must be anxiously avoided in the beginning of any important undertaking. In any case, they must count upon the hostile opposition of the earth and water deities, the sabdag, the klu, and the gnyan, who have their being in the depths of the earth, and of the water under the great old earth mother (Khon-ma). In order to break the resistance of these powerful forces Namgyal 342 77

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the 527
baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, 262
as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the

133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder 527
they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety.

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a 527
letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of 574
Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for

000 the statement that they would soon confess the "sin" to the lamas and that they would do penance for it with an offering /160/. When they spoke of the hunt, they never said: "Namgyal killed an antelope or a yak," but: "A yak, an antelope died (śi-soñ)." Died? What from? From too much lead? (illegible)

●262
231 144. Few Tibetans abstain entirely from the eating of meat; even most lamas, except those of the strictest sects, are meat eaters. In order to maintain the appearance of observing the prohibition to kill, there is a great deal of dissimulation. The meat is bought from the Muslim butcher, or the animal, sheep, goat, or yak, is brought to its death by tying its mouth and its nose so tightly with strings that the animal suffocates slowly amidst the severest pains. "It died," the people then say the themselves, "after all, we did not shed any blood."

000 The remainder of the journey passed by without special difficulties; one night wolves carried off two of their sheep and bit the neck of one horse so that it bled. But the other horses formed a circle and forcefully fended off the wolves, and with their hind hoofs they belabored one of the attackers so powerfully that he remained lying on the ground with broken limbs and ribs and could be beaten to death by the Ladakh men. A donkey and a horse with its load were carried off by the torrents at the crossing of one river and were lost. These were losses that were not easy to get over.

Quite discouraged and dejected, the travelers returned to Kalatse after an absence of just three months. Namgyal did not speak much about their experiences. The Break-leg man in (Kangchagspa) Yontan reported all the more about the battles with the bandits at which, in his presentation, he had performed heroic deeds. The people of Kalatse knew their Kangchagspa and teased him by having him tell the story over and over again because they knew that at each retelling the number of bandits "layed low" by the boaster, would increase.

Old Stobsldan, Namgyal's uncle, declared that never again he would take part in such a business trip which, after all, did not yield any profits anyway, and on which one risked one's life. The younger participants, on the other hand, said that if only all of them got good rifles they would go to Jangtang again the very next year.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life.

Food.

Láhaul. The furniture in a Spiti house has a general resemblance to that in a Láhaul one, but tubs and pails, the woodwork of which comes from Basáhir, are much used, and the churn for beating up the tea with salt and butter is never missing.

The Spiti men buy old cattle from the Láhaulis, and slaughter them in the autumn to furnish the larder for the six months of winter. In Láhaul cattle are not slaughtered now-a-days (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhága valley, and there it is done with the greatest secrecy); but five or six sheep are killed in each house at the beginning of the winter: the flesh dries, and will then keep good for any number of years: the older the meat, the greater the delicacy to the taste of a Láhauli. The principal food of the Láhauli is buck-wheat, boiled whole and eaten as gruel, or roasted and made into flour, which is then baked into cakes or mixed with *cháng* beer, and formed into dumplings. Parched barely-flour made into porridge is the every-day food in Spiti. It is also eaten boiled with butter and green herbs into a kind of soup; wheaten-flour is generally eaten in this way in Láhaul. Butter and butter-milk are regular articles of diet in both countries. *Cháng*, a kind of beer brewed from rice and barley, is drunk generally, and tea and a kind of whisky by those who can afford it. All the people of Láhaul will eat sheep that have died a natural death; and Dágis (Lehri) Lehaís and Barárars will eat dead cows and bullocks; but it is said that the Hesis will not. Green food is never cultivated, though many wild plants and herbs are eaten as vegetables. Potatoes were introduced by the missionaries and are now grown in considerable quantity.

Dress of Láhaul and Spiti.

In Spiti the ordinary dress of the men consists of a skull-cap, a long loose frock or coat of thick woollen cloth girt in at the waist by a long and broad sash, and a pair of boots, with leathern soles and cloth tops reaching to and gathered below the knee. Some who can afford it wear also a silk or cotton under-coat; the coat is generally the natural colour of the wool; the other articles are red, or red and black. Every man wears a loose necklace of rough lumps of turquoise, amber, and other stones mixed with coral beads. A bright iron pipe and a knife in sheath are stuck in his belt, from which hang also by steel chains his *chakmak*, or flint and steel, and tinder-box, a metal spoon, and a bunch of the most fantastically shaped keys. In the fold of his coat next the skin he carries a wooden or metal drinking cup, a tobacco pouch, some parched barley-meal, and other odds and ends. Many wear their hair plaited into a tail like Chinamen. If of a serious tone (a professing Buddhist, to adopt a phrase used among some Christians), he will never go out without a prayer-wheel in one hand, and a religious book or two slung on his back, and repeats the *Om máni* at every pause in the conversation. The monks, when not engaged in religious functions, go bare-headed, and wear a rosary of beads* instead of a necklace; the cut of their coat and boots is the same, but the cloth is dyed either red or yellow. Astrologers dress in red from head to foot. The women wear a coat, sash, and boots like the men, but the coat is always of a dark colour; they also wear

* These beads are sometimes bits of a human skull, on the *memento mori* principle.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

789 Bushans of Pin. It has three edges and an elaborate handle.

An old trick of the Bushans, which I have seen them perform, is to wave the magic dagger over a stone and then to place the stone on a man's chest and break it in two by hurling another stone on to it.

Amulets.

751 The *shungwa* is an amulet containing a paper, with *mantras* and prayers against sickness, falling stones and so on, written by some well-known abbot.

The *chhoh shus* is an amulet specially worn during a journey.

Lucky and unlucky days.

777 Special days are lucky or unlucky for special acts; *e. g.*, starting on a journey, cutting a crop, sowing a field, and so on. Everyone knows these, and *lámas* are only consulted for special occasions.

Unlucky days for journeys, when there is no time to wait, are thus evaded. All you have to do is to walk 20 or 30 paces in the opposite direction to that of your journey and you can go on your way rejoicing.

There are no lucky days for crossing the Spiti River.

[793] Unlucky days for actions, which must be performed, are thus evaded. Call a *láma* to read certain *mantras* and pay him a fee in money or grain and all will be well.

Hares.

●262 The people of Spiti will not eat hares, as they hold them to be a kind of donkey. The name for them (*ríbong*) means wild ass.

Earthquakes.

823 The God of the Earth is a frog and occasionally shakes it, as it is balanced on his back.

Deformities.

732
777 A child born with an extra finger is lucky, but a child born with the number short or with the fingers incomplete is unlucky. The people do not admit killing off such children.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

could run, sending out in front rough couriers of cold wind and sleeting rain. These couriers seemed to be on a hunt, for they chased before them a herd of wild asses. They were beautiful animals about the size of Missouri mules, with long tails, light tan bodies, dark brown splotches on their backs and heads.

They are animals that are very hard to domesticate. A young one touched by man seems to have the mark of pestilence on it, for it will never be reclaimed by its mother. Its meat[1] is said to be very palatable; the Moslems of Ladakh have indeed a great fondness for it. Rup Singh up front rode to within thirty yards of the herd that had just come over Pagmur before they broke and ran. Before I could get my movie camera and telescopic lens into play, black clouds rolled over Pagmur like a wave and washed down on us. Photographing the wild asses was impossible. We leaned forward in our saddles, hugging the mules for warmth.

I shouted to Rahul, "The hat has lost its magic."

"With *me* it has," he laughingly replied. "*You* must wear it after this."

That night the word went through our camp (just below the north side of Pagmur) that Rahul did not have the magic, only Sahib. It poured that night, raining so hard we had to dig trenches around our pup tents for drainage. The morning was soggy; visibility was cut to a few hundred yards; the air was heavy with mist and the duffel bags heavy with moisture. I thought Budh Ram handed me the hat with extraordinary eagerness this morning, an eagerness that nevertheless was mixed with some doubt. There seemed to be working in his head a conflict between his desire to get rid of the rain and his fear of stretching the magic of the hat beyond the point where it could be effective. Certainly it seemed dubious if any power could protect us from the weight of the clouds that hung low over Pagmur. Today may be the end of my act with the hat, I said to myself. In a little while everyone will know this hoax for what it is.

The magic, however, held. A south wind streaked down from

[1] [i.e. WILD ASSES -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of all vegetation except red, yellow, and gray lichens and a few of the sturdy saxifrage.

At one time there had been a serai at Zing Zing Bar with rock walls and a galvanized iron roof stretched on steel rafters. But the weight of snow had crushed the serai, making it uninhabitable. I found a level spot in the vast rock field where I put my bedroll. And after inflating my air mattress and getting everything in condition for the night, I joined the muleteers.

They had piled some of our baggage in the form of an L to provide a windbreak, and they had a fire of mule dung going. They were making tea, a tea unlike anything we of the West know. It is called *gur gur cha*. The correct and proper way to make it is to brew the tea (which is kept in a bag) the day before, adding a pinch of soda and letting it simmer until it has a pinkish tinge. The next day put the brew in a churn, add salt and yak butter (*gie*), and mix thoroughly. Then heat the mixture until it is piping hot and serve.

Rup Singh omitted the first step. He had a tall, cylindrical, wooden churn in which, with the use of a plunger, he mixed water, salt, and yak butter. After the butter was dissolved he poured the contents of the churn into the teapot. When the tea had boiled, it was ladled out in cups. It sounds repulsive and sometimes is, when the yak butter is rancid. But Rup Singh's *gur gur cha* was good. A cold wind was sweeping down from Baralacha, chilling us. The *gur gur cha* seemed to have a special warmth. It was nourishing too. We sat in silence for perhaps a quarter hour sipping it.

Then the muleteers ate their supper. They had a sack of flour made from barley that is cut when slightly green, then baked and ground. This flour is carried in every caravan that travels Lahul, Ladakh, or Tibet. It is the mainstay of each meal along the trail. My muleteers ate it in the customary manner—they put a handful of it in a cup of *gur gur cha* and stirred it up until

252 it made a thick paste. This is the famous dish that is called *sattu*
262 in Ladakh and *tsamba* in Tibet. My muleteers ate it with spoons, as we would eat porridge. Ram Chand had a method of his own. He mixed the paste so thick that he could dish it out with one finger as if it were cake dough.

262 This was the muleteers' dinner—*gur gur cha* and *sattu*. It was dinner in every caravan that was camped along the trails of the high Himalayas. It was Rup Singh's dinner every night during our trek—every night except the time we bought eggs and chickens and the day we were presented with rabbits as big as any in Arizona or New Mexico. *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* were also breakfast for the muleteers. But at breakfast they would also have *chapattis*, and each morning they would bake enough of them for lunch along the trail.

I talked to Rahul about the monotony of that diet. He agreed that it was monotonous, a monotony which the Lahulis, Ladakhis, and Tibetans try to break as frequently as possible with meat. "But it is a nutritious diet," he said. "*Gur gur cha* and *sattu* carry most of the natives over the Himalayas. There is energy in it. And look at their teeth! *Gur gur cha* and *sattu* may be flat and dull but they do not cause tooth decay."

000 I lay in my sleeping bag in the rock cairn at Zing Zing Bar watching the sky. Earlier I had seen a dipper teetering on a rock by the Bhaga River. Now a gray-backed shrike raced by. A few clouds showed in the west. Venus rode the skyline briefly to reappear hours later in Oregon. A wave of homesickness swept over me as I relived wonderful sunset hours in the Wallowas. Then Venus was gone. The wind died down and a whole host of miller moths descended on me, whirling around my head. They visited me very briefly, leaving as quickly and as mysteriously as they had arrived. Thousands of strange stars gradually appeared. A shoulder of Baralacha to the north blotted out the Big Dipper, though I thought I saw the end of its familiar handle sticking out above a lofty range. The stars kept coming out until it

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 scattered on the lawn—a tin airplane, a jumping jack, and a bow
159 and arrow. He came flying back with the airplane, and Rinpoche held it in his hands, rushing about making a noise like a dive bomber. Then he disappeared with his companion, and I did not see him again until Rahul and I were eating our evening meal.

792 The house had a central hall that ran its length. My room was
346 on the right as one entered, Rinpoche's on the left. The door to the room was a heavy drape that hung to the floor. My room was unadorned except for a small table, a few chairs, and a carpet. The toilet was in a detached, primitive outhouse in the rear. Rahul and I laid our bedrolls on the floor and unpacked our duffel, and a lama brought hot water in a basin for washing. An-
• 262 other lama brought food from the kitchen. It was an orthodox Buddhist meal, strictly vegetarian in accord with the teaching of the Gautama that no man should kill any man or animal—not
[576] even sheep for mutton, cattle for beef, or trout for fish. Our dinner consisted of beans, potatoes, and corn, cooked together in a highly spiced dish, boiled rice, *chapattis*, and *gur gur cha*. And as the grimy lama served us, he held a cloth over his mouth.

792 Previously, while we unpacked, I had seen the curtain covering
159 our doorway move. Looking up, I saw Rinpoche disappear. He had been watching us. In a few seconds he peeked again, his eyes wide with excitement as I inflated my air mattress. He disappeared every time I looked at him. Then curiosity got the better of him, and at last he stood inside the room, feasting his eyes on all our equipment. He appeared over and again as we ate the frugal evening meal, his friendly face showing for a brief second in the doorway, his eyes dancing with merriment, as if he were playing a game with us.

792 The next morning I paid an official call on Rinpoche to tender
431 him presents. As Lowell Thomas, Jr., describes in *Out of This World*, the customary present that a guest gives his Tibetan host and that a host in turn gives his guest is a white scarf, which signifies the purity of friendship. That is true in Ladakh as well.

1 [i.e., Hemis Monastery— ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fact, go hand in hand. Poverty is indeed the main instrument for promoting and perpetuating ignorance.

Each monastery has not only a spiritual head (the *skushok*), but also a managerial head (the *chhagzot*), and a treasurer (the *konyer*). There are two classes of monks—the praying monks and the working monks. The working monks are under the *chhagzot* and the *konyer*. The *chhagzot* is usually a lama whose main job is to supervise the making of leases of the farmlands and their cultivation, and to collect the rents. He usually rides the biggest, whitest horse in the region. When he or the lama who represents him comes to a village to collect the rents, he brings with him more than the usual power and prestige of the landlord. He also brings the power and prestige of the church. He is the holy man to whom all allegiance is owed. He is the one who holds the tenant in the palm of his hand. He may, in appearance, be a kindly man. But as a symbol he has a terrifying importance. Since he is under a mandate to keep the people poor, he can in good conscience exact the pound of flesh. And they—poor, miserable, whimpering villagers—can only bow in submission.

These Ladakhis are poor people—poor in the strictest sense in which we use the word. They get some income from sheep, goats, and yaks. But the bulk of their livelihood is from agriculture. They are on a bare subsistence level. They commonly work per family only a few acres. Their diet has very little meat in it. The Rupshupa, whom I saw at Zara, eat milk, cheese, and meat, supplemented by barley that they get in barter for wool. But they are the exceptions. The rest are, for the most part, vegetarians. They eat barley and wheat cakes (*chapattis*), the broth of turnips with some peas in it, baked barley flour (*sattu*), fruits in season (apples, grapes, apricots), and *gur gur cha*. They have one escape from the monotony of life—apart from the festivals at the monasteries. That escape is through *chan*—a local beer, made from wheat and barley, that looks like dirty gruel and smells like stale beer.

The Rupshupa, now that the price of wool is high, may have

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Tibetan friends prefer rancid butter, but in Ladak at any rate, those who can afford to be so are most particular that the butter shall be fresh, never melted previously, and without a strong smell. The resulting concoction to us tastes more like soup, and few Westerners can stand more than one or two cups without disastrous results. For the Tibetan on the other hand it is one of his staple foods, its butter helps to supply the carbo-hydrates which he so rarely takes in the form of sugar, though he gets plenty of starch from his uncooked barley-flour, mixed with water or tea. The fat also warms and sustains him in the bitter winter, and as this separates out if allowed to cool but slightly, his cup is supplied with a metal lid and saucer if he moves in better circles, and his wife or attendant constantly adds hot tea as soon as there is any room to fill up. In this way over twenty cupfuls may be taken at one midday meal. For us it is a very trying custom when we visit our Ladaki friends, and we have to explain that, just as much of our tea (fortunately for us !) upsets them, so our internal economy can only deal with a small supply of their favourite beverage ! Another difficulty for us is to sit cross-legged on the floor for so long, and, although we know it is bad manners to stretch out legs, eventually when stiff knees or needles and pins become intolerable, we have to ask our host or hostess to excuse the position. To return to the fireplace —we find the seats of election are on the side of the stove opposite the bellows, for here is a little trough into which the hot ashes are pushed through from the other side, as aeration necessitates. Squatting cross-legged on mats round these hot embers, which can be constantly raked over with a rough fire-spoon or even the hardened fingers of our native friends, we can stretch our hands out over the warmth, and renew the glowing vitality by occasionally leaning over to give a few good blows. This cosy corner is, of course, the warmest at night, and given to either the weakest or most distinguished member of the household. The Doctor Memsahib once had

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the customs concerned in the partaking thereof. The better class Ladaki always washes his face and hands before eating. The Buddhist also performs his particular kind of grace before meals. First he takes a little of his flour which he throws away for the gods. Then he dips his ring-finger and thumb into his tea or *chang* (beer), and flips a taste of that away for their benefit, too. He uses the ring-finger as he considers this the cleanest of his digits, for man is born with this finger in his nose. If he wishes to stir anything, he uses this same member. If for his meal he has killed a sheep, he is supposed to offer up a bit of its heart, kidney, liver and every part of its flesh to his god. But meat is rather a luxury for the normal household, yet they have many ways of cooking it which are really delicious. When a *dron* or feast is made, the meat is of course, prepared as a very tasty curry to be eaten with rice, the meat being first fried with plenty of cooking-butter and onions, then stirred for hours till it is really tender in a well-flavoured sauce with plenty of vegetables. The rice is served, piled up on enormous plates, each of which two or three guests will attack, unless they have brought their own normal sized plates. The grander ones then eat with small spoons, the man's being a different shape from the woman's, as the latter is double, the second tiny receptacle at one end being for a child. It is not etiquette to finish up what is on the plate—in most cases it would be impossible; the mother especially must take a large portion home for the rest of the family. The feast is usually begun with butter-tea, and, if so, when the plates of rice and meat have been removed, it is quite good manners in some circles to clean out the cup with one's tongue (much more labour-saving than our ways of washing up !), ready to have it filled with stewed dried apricots. After this course, the same cleansing process will prepare the cup for more filling of butter-tea ! "Chupattis," that is, round flat cakes of unleavened bread, are generally served too, and dipped into the apricot juice or the tea. At a very grand

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

762 574 feast, proceedings may begin with *gyatug*, a dish of long vermicelli-like strips of flour-paste over which mincemeat in a nicely flavoured sauce is poured. Meat is also minced and made into delicious little dumplings, called *mok mok*, or well-flavoured and rolled up into sausages, which are eaten with [565] rice—in fact in a rich house, after the plates of rice have been served, many kinds of subsidiary dishes are handed round with meat done up in different ways, sauces and vegetables, the last [357] often soured. For a *dron* an experienced cook is hired to take charge of all the culinary operations, usually a Mussulman, otherwise one of the women of the house superintends 762 the kitchen. But in the villages where there are no butcher shops, and a sheep is killed only occasionally, the staple food is butter-tea and barley-flour, varied with all sorts of vegetables prepared in several ways. The poorest people mix the flour in water just as it is, eating it out of cheap little wooden cups with their fingers.

762 An ordinary middle class family will breakfast on butter-tea 565 and small breads, raised with leaven called *kambir* ; at midday they will have more tea, and perhaps chupattis with a sauce of vegetables, mixed with buttermilk, while in the evening, tea may or may not be served again with flour kneaded into a paste in some form or other, and mixed with meat well stewed in a broth.

More usually as the hot tea is drunk, the butter floating on the top is blown to one side, and after many cups a nice little residue is left with which to mix up the raw flour with the aid of a finger.

757 In summer when milk is more plentiful, its various products [762] are much used as a food. The milk is collected into a large pot at night and warmed, some sour buttermilk being added to make it curdle. The pot is then covered with garments and blankets so as to maintain the blood-heat for proper fermentation. Some of it may be set aside to eat as *zho*, this being a kind of junket, only less insipid, especially when well

14: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1947 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

barley after it has been parched and milled into flour is extremely nutritious, by the side of which Quaker Oats is insipid.

Nak Nas, or black barley, grows at the highest altitude at which any grain can be cultivated. Though it gives a good yield its flour is objected to even by Tibetans, who are by no means fastidious, on account of its black colour.

Drug-zur-Nas, or the six-sided barley, is on the whole inferior to Yangkar Nas both in yield and in quality.

Wheat flourishes in Ladakh and constitutes a really nourishing and palatable food. The two varieties chiefly grown are Drokar, or white wheat, and Dromar, red wheat. It requires less manure than barley. The sandy soil is particularly suitable to the growth of wheat and excellent crops can be seen at 12,000 feet above sea-level. The wholewheat flour makes excellent bread.

A considerable quantity of buckwheat (Drawo) is cultivated, partly because it requires little manure and can flourish with a minimum of water. Its nutritive content bears no comparison with the locally grown barley or wheat.

The mustard plant (Nyungskar) is cultivated because it produces mustard oil for frying, or else illumination when a wick floating in oil serves in lieu of kerosine oil. Oil extracted from the kernels of apricots serves a similar purpose.

The average yield of crops in Ladakh is not much more than sevenfold, though travellers to this country have estimated it at a higher figure. Many peasants are too poor to apply sufficient manure upon their lands, so this alone would account for the apparently low yield of cereals. When there is a scarcity of manure the farmer will plough in the wheat stubble of a field, and occasionally he will leave a field fallow for a year or two before sowing it with wheat or barley.

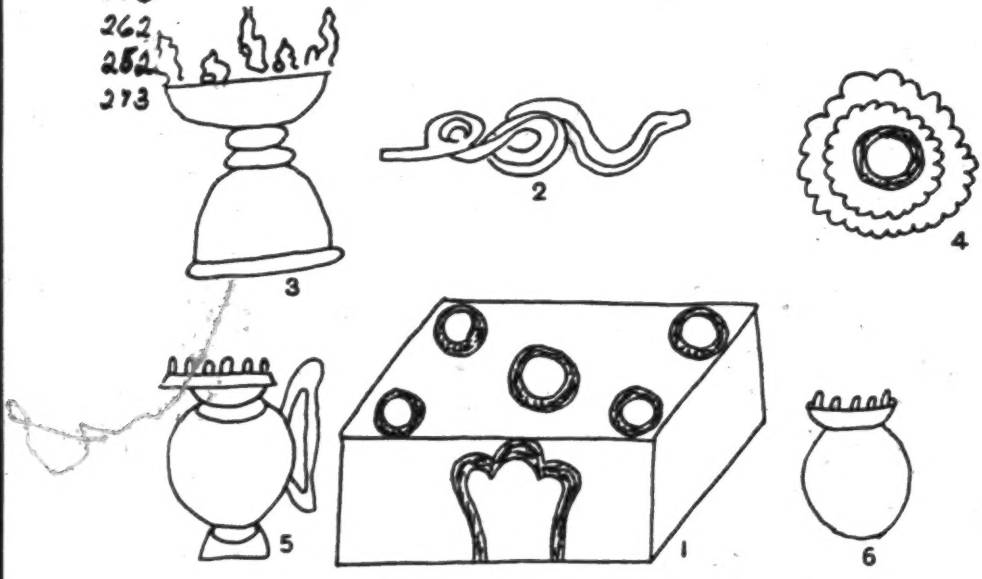
Reaping is performed with a hook or sickle, the stems of the grain being cut as close to the soil as possible. The threshing and winnowing operations are those which have been practised for hundreds of years in the East—namely, threshing with oxen or donkeys tied to a centre pole in the threshing floor, and winnowing by the use of wooden forks, with which the chaff is thrown into the air and is blown away by the wind, the grain falling to the ground.

No matter where you go in the country you find that the people contrive to eke out a livelihood, though in most cases there is very little margin for luxuries even on a modest scale. This is due to the fact that the majority of peasants are born with a legacy of grain debts which it is obvious they have not the power to repay. In the meantime, when seeding-time comes round, they themselves borrow grain at 25 per cent. for about four or five months, by which time the crop is harvested. Down swoops the creditor to claim not only the interest but also the capital of the debt, leaving the peasant with the scantiest supply of grain with which he must support his family during the winter months. By that time he has consumed the grain which he should use for seeding, so he perforce must add to his accumulated debts by taking out another loan of grain. The grain stockist in this country is a usurer of the worst type, for he takes

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

house, whilst a number of them are arranged in a row near the awning of the dwelling.

The members of the household then partake of *Tab-Zan*. This consists of a large dish of parched barley dough in the middle of which a hollow is made to receive the mustard oil which is poured into it. This large cake of dough is



1. *rGya-Tab* (Stove). This is the common earthen stove used by Ladakhis. It is 3 feet square and 1 foot high. In the front there is an aperture for putting in the fuel of sticks and dried manure, and on the top of it there are three holes for placing the cooking utensils. 2. *Dib-Rug*. Sheep's intestines. 3. *Bu-La*. Little lamps made of dough. 4. *Tab-Zan*. Parched barley dough with a hollow in the centre in which mustard oil is poured. 5. *Kal-jor*. Beer pot. 6. *Za-rgyan*. An earthen vessel in which beer is kept. Sometimes used instead of the *Kal-jor*. Both are ornamented with butter pats on special occasions, and also serve as butter offerings.

then divided into four equal parts, one part (*Tab La Rgya-Mo*), being placed on the earth stove (*Tab*) as an offering to the god of the hearth, one part (*Mag-Dung Rgya-Mo*) stuck on a large horizontal beam in the apartment, and one piece (*Sgo-Tag-Rgya-Mo*) stuck on the lintel of the front

20: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1938 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

796 door of the house. When performing this rite the house-
● 262 holder says :

> " Don't carry confidential news outside,
> But bring popular gossip inside (the house)." [2]

The fourth quarter of the dough cake is reserved for consumption by the family.

From the 25th–29th no social function is held, but all engage in feasting privately. On the 29th, however, the unripened barley grain left over from the harvest, the head feet, and stomach of a sheep, and peas, are all boiled to-
796 gether. It is then taboo for women to wash their hair, and
784 no one may go abroad for any purpose beyond the immediate vicinity of the village. It is thought that if this prohibition is disregarded, the *Nagpo Gunsum* (a black demon) will consume
796 every particle of food within their houses. The intestines
251 of the sheep already killed are filled with dough kneaded in sheep's blood, and a plate of this (*Dib-Rug*) is given and received amongst the neighbours. As a large amount of this delicacy is thus collected, what part of it cannot be consumed immediately is cut in slices, and strung through with yarn and hung in an empty room to be used as required.

796 The next day the families in the village proceed to their
262 respective cremation sites, taking with them breads,
782 parched barley, beer, meat, and other delicacies. Part of each kind of food thus taken is placed on a slab of stone in front of the cremating oven (*Dur-Kung*) for the ghost of the latest deceased relation. The remainder of the food is eaten by the relations on the spot. If there happen to be two or more parties visiting their own cremating ovens simultaneously, they pool the food they have brought and eat it together, having first performed the ceremony of offering food and beverage to the ghosts of the dead.

[2] *Original Ladakhi dialect* :

Nangi pe-ra chi la ma akyer
Chi logi pe-ra nang la kyong.

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

48. (*a*) ཟ་བོ་ཁྲུ་ཀས་ཟོས། ཅུང་ཀའི་ཁ་དམར་པོ།།

(*b*) za'o kha'tä zos', cung kä kha' marpo'.

(*c*) The [stolen] food was eaten by the crow [but the beak of the raven is red.

(*d*) Often the wrong person is caught instead of the guilty one.

(*e*) *Zos*=*bzas*, *zos* is the only past tense in Ladakhi, which changes the vowel.

49. (*a*) ཚིལ་མཐོང་སྟེ་ཁ་འགས།།

(*b*) thsil'thong'ste kha'gas'.

(*c*) [When] seeing grease, the mouth cracks [open].

(*d*) When you see something nice you want to have it.

(*e*) *Thsil*=mutton grease, a very desirable thing in Ladakh.

50. (*a*) ནོར་མེད་ཚོང་ས་ལ་ཆ་ན། སྨྱོ་འདོད།།

(*b*) nor'med thsong'sala cha'na, nyo'dod.

(*c*) Who goes to the shop without money, likes foolishness.

(*d*) Do nothing unprepared, you might be laughed at.

(*e*) *Nyodod* is *Compos. determ.*=a liker of foolishness.

51. (*a*) སྟོད་ན་སྟོད་ན་ངའི་སང་རྒྱལ་ལས་སྟོད།

སྨད་ན་སྨད་ན་ངའི་སང་ཐུས་པས་སྨད།།

(*b*) stod'na stod'na ngä' sang gyal'lä stod'
smad'na smad'na, ngä' sang thus'pä smad'.

(*c*) Who praises me, is a better man than I am.
Who despises me, is a worse man than I am.

(*d*) Said by a man who has heard that slander is going on about him.

(*e*) For *sang* with the comparative, see Jäschke's grammar; *rgyallas* and *thuspas* are Instrumentals, *gyulla*=a good man.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetan. ASJ

The universal food of the people is barley-meal, made from grim; it is either made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a sort of dough and eaten with butter-milk if that can be got. They generally have three meals; one an hour or two after sunrise, of the barley-broth; one at mid-day, of the dough; a third after sunset, of the broth again. In this way they consume some two pounds' weight of meal a day. To the broth they put any addition they can get; sometimes it is vegetable, sometimes meat, and sometimes tea.

Unlike the natives of India, the Ladākhīs are not particular as to their feeding. They obey few restrictions as to what to eat or how to eat it, or as to the method of slaughtering. One way they have of killing an animal for food is to tie up the mouth and let it be suffocated. Another practice of theirs (I am not sure that it is common) is to drain the blood of the animal into their broth and warm all up together.

The drink of the Ladākhīs is *chang*, a light beer made without hops.* They have no good vessels to keep it in, so it usually is sour by the time it is drunk. As I have drunk it, it tasted like a cross between home-brewed beer and farmhouse cider; it is not a bad beverage on a warm day, but these people will enjoy it in the depth of a severe winter. There is also a spirit sometimes made—a whisky, but this is proscribed by law. Through the Maharaja's territories generally the making and the drinking of intoxicating liquors is forbidden†; at one time an order was made that in accordance with this rule the drinking of chang should be put down; but on the representations of the Ladākhīs that it had been the beverage of their nation from time immemorial, and that it would be impossible to endure the cold of their climate without it, they were allowed the malt-liquor; the restriction as to the spirit however remains. Tea is another favourite drink in this country, but the poor people—that is nearly all the population—seldom are able to afford it; it is made in a churn, with butter added.

* For the better brews a plant brought from Baltistān is used in the same way and with somewhat the same effects as are hops in our beer.

† Christians are specially exempted from the operation of this law.

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AV4

On getting as near as we could to one of the herds and dispersing it, we separated and at last with some difficulty caught a colt of fifteen days or a little more. He was 35 inches high, his head was 13 inches long, his ear 6 inches; his coat was thick but soft, the mane short and curly, the tail short and bushy. His voice, as well as the voice of full-grown ones that we got pretty near to, was almost exactly like that of a mule—a subdued grunt or abortive bray. This little fellow soon lost his shyness and would let anyone come near him without fear; we tried hard to rear him, but he died in two or three days. Several attempts have been made to tame the kyang, but little success has attended them. I have eaten the flesh of kyang in the form of steak, and found it very like beefsteak, but rather coarser; the Chāmpās are glad to eat it when they get a chance.

PĀNGKONG LAKE.

In entering another of the high-level valleys of Ladākh we leave the area draining directly into the Indus, and come to where the drainage either communicates or has communicated with the river Shayok. We saw that the neck of the Tsāka Pass is a point on the watershed between the two basins. From its summit there is an easy descent into a very gradually sloping valley, which, in less than 30 miles, leads us past the village of Chushal to the shores of the Pāngkong Lake.

The series of lakes in one and the same line of valley, but just separated from each other, the lowest of which bears the name of Pāngkong or Pāngong, occupy a length of valley of 90 miles, or it may be more; the eastern end is unexplored, but the people about speak of its being an eight days' journey from end to end of the lakes. The upper part of Pāngkong itself and the lake next above are known to us only through the explorations (made in 1863) of Major H. H. Godwin-Austen, of the G. T. Survey, whose journal gives an admirable account of it,* and whose topographical work on the Survey Map is a most valuable guide to anyone who may

* Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. xxxvii., part ii.

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir AV1
W. Tibetans AJ 4

a kind of barley known as grim; from this, *chang*, the drink of the people is made; it has a sour odour. The fruit trees bear apricots, apples and mulberries.

The zho is the animal most used for riding, being quieter than the yak, though they are not nearly as strong as the yak which is a big brute, with great head, short horns, and covered with dark brown hair. It is a strange creature, for just as a horse will stretch down its neck and bite at some grass as it goes along, so the yak when being driven through the snow, will take a mouthful and make a loud grunting noise, a characteristic which it does not pass on to its half-breed son; for the zho does not grunt, it grinds its teeth in a strange manner, a sound which one either comes to put up with and does not notice, or is nearly driven mad by.

Practically all the animals in Ladakh grow an undercoat of fine down in the winter time, even the small horses. It is that from the Ladakhi goat which is exported to Kashmir for the making of the famous pashmina shawls, and through Ladakh pass caravans carrying it there from Kashgar. In calling it "pashmina", they have without doubt corrupted and used the Russian word "pushmina". Here in Leh, were to be bought soft blankets of brown and black wool, which are probably made from the undercoat of the zho, the yak, and maybe the little mountain pony.

The people's food is simple. Meat is too expensive for the poor to eat except on festive occasions. Mostly they eat thick barley cakes or barley meal in a broth of turnips heavily salted. Like the Kashmiri they have their own way of making tea; strong tea is mixed with soda, and then salted and churned with butter until the whole becomes creamlike in its thickness.

Religion is the greatest power in the lives of the people. They are Buddhists, practising a form known in Tibet and referred to as Lamaism; a religion which dominates their lives, promising every true follower the bliss of Nirvana; faith which, the Abbot of one of the monasteries told me, "teaches compassion, courtesy, kindliness, truthfulness, loyalty, politeness in word, cheerfulness and good humour". And from what I saw of them I should imagine that many of these qualities are to be found in the majority of the people in a land where murders

2: Gervis T-3 (no date) 1954 AV1 Kashmir
W. Tibetans AJ4

I can well imagine the shock any high-minded Englishman or woman must suffer after they have been reminded, as I was by the Head Lama, that it is known that when Julius Caesar first went to England, he discovered that polyandry was a common practice in the country.

If there are more than three brothers, unless the wife is prepared to cope with extra husbands, then those remaining have the choice of either becoming a lama and entering the monastery or becoming a coolie; unless of course one is born fortunate enough to catch the eye of an heiress.

These lamas who are both male and female, usually remain single, though there is no bar against their marriage. The women lamas or nuns, known as chamos, live in different buildings, but they do not live entirely separate from each other, the nuns undertaking many of the household duties in the monasteries, such as baking bread, cooking and so on.

It is not unknown for a family to dedicate their first born, or even the favourite son to this religious life. In that event he is sent to a monastery school—which is residential—from the age of eight years, passing through all the stages of pupil, probationer and finally fully ordained monk. As such he has to observe some two hundred and fifty-three vows, and monastic life—at least of the yellow order—imposes a hard discipline upon the monks, including celibacy and abstinence. His diet consists of barley, wheat or buckwheat and occasionally rice. The only meat allowed to be eaten is either sheep, goat or yak, and the chief beverages are soup, milk and tea.

In every village we had passed through we had seen belonging to practically every house a little boy wearing a lama's hat or a little girl wearing the cap of a chamo. They had been dedicated as the one of the family to enter the monastery or nunnery school as soon as they were old enough.

The monks, in addition to being divided into sects, are separated into two classes; one, those who would in any event have entered the monastery, devote their time to meditation, prayers and the spiritual side "their life being on a higher spiritual plane", and two, those who beg for alms, cultivate the land, look after the rents and so on. The doctors among them—those I met anyway,—had started in the first class and then

241 [231] [262]

range, the crops often fail for lack of sun-warmth. Ploughing is chiefly done by the hybrid of the yak bull and the common cow, known as *zo* (male) or *zomo* (female). This animal is also used for transport purposes. Grazing is limited, and consequently the number of live-stock is not large, but there are a fair number of ponies, those from Zāskār being famous. The food of the Ladākhis is the meal of *grim*, made into a broth and drunk warm, or else into a dough and eaten with buttermilk. The Ladākhis have no prejudices, and will eat anything they can get.

135 **Minerals.** Borax is produced in Rupshu, and salt is found. About 1,436 maunds of borax are annually extracted, but the industry is profitable neither to the people nor to the State. In former days sulphur, saltpetre, and iron were manufactured in factories at Leh, but the scarcity of fuel has now rendered these industries impossible.

286 **Manufactures.** Practically the only manufacture is that of woollen cloth, known as *patṭū* and *pashmīna*.

439 **Commerce and trade.** The people trade in agricultural products with the Champas of Tibet and with Skārdu. Salt is largely exported to Skārdu, and in a less degree to Kashmīr, and is exchanged for grain, apricots, tobacco, madder, and ponies. The chief commerce is the Central Asian trade between Yārkand and India.

631 643 **Administration, &c.** [691] [704] [439] [648] [624] [651] [872] Ladākh is in the charge of a Wazīr Wazārat, who is responsible for Baltistān and the three *tahsīls* of Ladākh, Kargil, and Skārdu. His duties are light. There is little crime and scarcely any litigation. The chief cases are disputes regarding trees, or complaints that one villager has stolen the surface soil of another. No police force is maintained, but a small garrison of State troops is quartered in the fort at Leh, a building with mud walls. The Wazīr Wazārat and his establishment cost the State Rs. 9,166 per annum. One of the chief functions of the Wazīr is the supervision of the Central Asian trade which passes through Leh. For this purpose he is *ex-officio* Joint Commissioner, associated with a British officer appointed by the Indian Government. Each subdivision of Ladākh is in the charge of a *kārdār* who is a Bhot. His chief duties are to see that all reasonable assistance is rendered to the Central Asian traders and travellers. For this purpose the villages of each *kārdāri* are made responsible for furnishing baggage animals and supplies in turn, and according to the capacity of each village to the stages situated within the limits of the *kārdāri*. This is known as the *reis* system. Primary schools are maintained at Skārdu and Leh.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri
W. Tibetans AJ4
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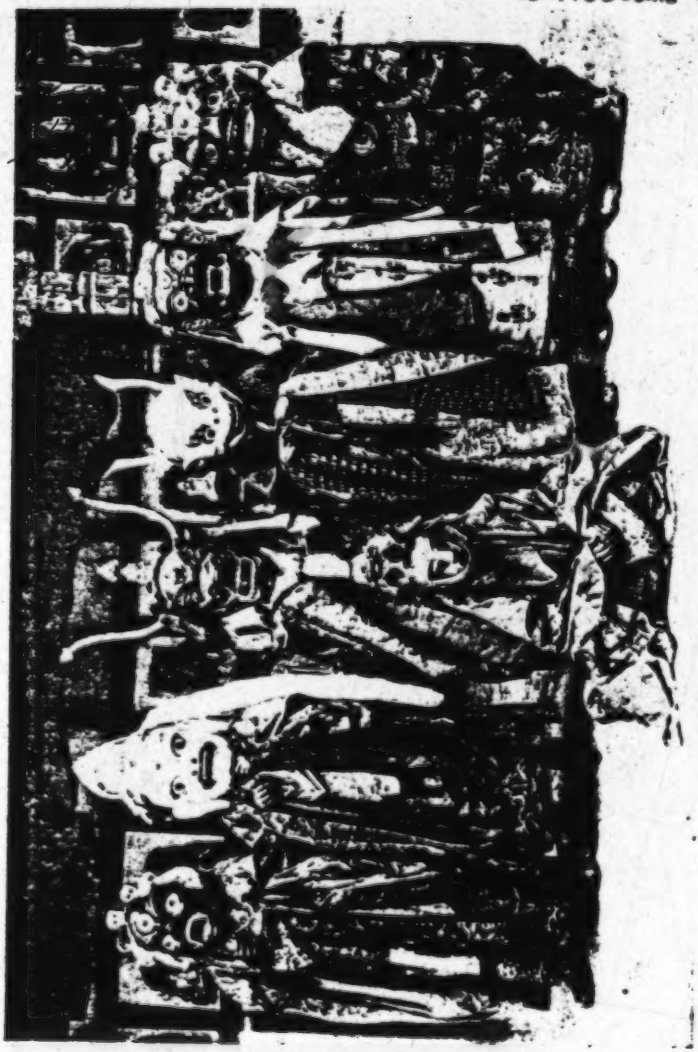

LAMA ACTORS IN THEIR RELIGIOUS PLAYS. (Vishu Nath.

Note the resemblance to Chinese rather than to Indian decoration and design in these figures.

Photo by]

[facing p. 224]